Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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BEIRUT POUCH BAGHDAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FR, LY, XF, MASS, PFOR

SUBJECT: FRENCH GOVERNMENT REVIEWS MIDEAST ARMS

EMBARGO POLICY

SUMMARY: A SLIGHTLY EMBARRASSED FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS PLEDGED TO REVIEW ITS POLICY OF ARMS SALES TO THE MIDDLE EAST FOLLOWING EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADAT'S ADMISSION THAT LIBYAN MIRAGE V FIGHTER BOMBERS HAVE BEEN BASED IN EGYPT SINCE THE OCTOBER WAR, CONTRARY TO A FRENCH-LIBYAN AGREEMENT. THIS REVIEW MIGHT WELL RESULT IN A DECISION TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO ON "BATTLEFIELD COUNTRIES". END SUMMARY.

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1. AFTER A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AUGUST 7,

GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN ANDRE ROSSI SAID THAT THE PRESENCE OF THE MIRAGES IN EGYPT (REVEALED BY SADAT'S RECENTLY PUBLISHED LETTER TO THE LIBYAN GOVERNMENT) CREATED A "NEW SITUATION" AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT "WILL DEFINE HENCEFORTH THE POLICY WHICH IT INTENDS TO FOLLOW IN THE MATTER". LATER THAT EVENING, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS JEAN SAUVAGNARGUES SAID "IT'S A SITUATION WHICH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT DEPLORES, BUT WHICH LEADS IT PRECISELY TO RECONSIDER THE WHOLE QUESTION".

2. AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, FRANCE'S JANUARY 9, 1970 AGREEMENT WITH LIBYA FORBADE THE TRANSFER OF THE PLANES TO THE FOUR "BATTLEFIELD COUNTRIES" OF JORDAN, EGYPT, SYRIA AND ISRAEL. A FEW DAYS AFTER THE SALE WAS COMPLETED, PRIME MINISTER JACQUES CHABAN-DELMAS ANNOUNCED THAT FRANCE WOULD STOP DELIVERY OF THE PLANES IF IT LEARNED THEY WERE DESTINED FOR ANOTHER COUNTRY. DURING THE OCTOBER WAR, THE MESSMER GOVERNMENT CAREFULLY SIDESTEPPED ISRAELI CHARGES THAT THE LIBYAN MIRAGES HAD FOUND THEIR WAY TO EGYPT, CLAIMING THAT THERE WAS INSUFFICIENT PROOF TO SUBSTANTIATE ISRAEL'S CLAIM. ALTHOUGH THE GOF WAS LONG AWARE OF THE MISUSE OF THE MIRAGES, FRENCH REACTION TO THESE CHARGES WAS TEMPERED BY THE DESIRE TO MAINTAIN FRIENDLY TIES WITH THE ARAB STATES IN ORDER TO REASSERT FRENCH INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SECURE OIL SUPPLIES, AND DEVELOP ARAB MARKETS TO PAY FOR THE MORE EXPENSIVE PETROLEUM (IRONICALLY, SADAT RELEASED THE LETTER WHEN HIS FOREIGN MINISTER WAS IN PARIS TO DISCUSS FRANCO-EGYPTIAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION).

COMMENT: ACCORDING TO A WELL-PLACED EGYPTIAN SOURCE, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WAS TIPPED OFF TWO DAYS IN ADVANCE THAT SADAT WAS TO MAKE THE MIRAGE AFFAIR PUBLIC. THE WIDE PUBLICITY GIVEN IN THE FRENCH PRESS TO THE AFFAIR PRESENTS GISCARD WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW PUBLICLY A POLICY WHICH WAS BECOMING LESS TENABLE AND HAD ALREADY BEEN UNDER QUIET STUDY BY FRENCH GOVERNMENT SPECIALISTS. WE THINK THAT THE GOF, FOLLOWING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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BRITISH PRECEDENT ESTABLISHED IN JANUARY 1974, MAY ANNOUNCE AN END TO THE ARMS EMBARGO ON "BATTLEFIELD COUNTRIES" AND RESUME MIDDLE EAST ARMS SALES ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS. IT MIGHT ATTEMPT TO CLOAK SUCH A DECISION UNDER THE MANTLE OF A SUGGESTION THAT THERE BE INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO CONTROL ARMS SALES TO THE REGION. IN ANY CASE, ISRAELI DEPENDENCE UPON AMERICAN ARMS GRANTS MAKES IT IMPROBABLE THAT ISRAEL

| WOULD EMBARRASS THE FRENCH BY ARMS-SHOPPING IN PARIS. |
|---|
| QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR DE MARGERIE GAVE POLCOUNSELOR |
| HIS PERSONAL VIEW AUGUST 8 THAT ARMS SALES WOULD BE |
| RESUMED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. END COMMENT. |
| STONE |

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